l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

They certainly (I am here speaking of the men) show a reverence for each other, which is visible on all occasions; they often meet for the purpose of conversation, and their sociability appears to be a recreation to them, a renewal of good fellowship. Their general principle, that good and bad cannot mingle or dwell together in one heart, and therefore must not come into contact, seems to be their guide on all occasions. So, likewise, when travelling, whether they are few, or many, they are cheerful, and resigned to the accidents which may befal them; never impatient, quarrelsome, or charging any one, or one another, with being in fault, or the occasion of what had happened; even though one should lose his all by the neglect or carelessness of the other, yet they will not fly into a passion, but patiently bear with the loss, thinking within themselves that such a one feels sorry enough already, and therefore it would be unreasonable to add to his pain. They judge with calmness on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour so to do, between an accident and a wilful act;—the *first* (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the *second* being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet abed, asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair; the owner readily consented, and said: "as my "gun is not loaded, you will have to take a few balls out "of your pouch!" In taking the gun down, it, however, by some accident went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such a condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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In the house: O! the *accident!* for such it was always considered to have been, and was treated as such.

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A hunter went out to kill a bear, some of those animals having been seen in the neighbourhood. In an obscure part of a wood, he saw at a distance something black moving, which he took for a bear, the whole of the animal not being visible to him; he fired, and found he had shot a black horse. Having discovered the mistake, he informed the owner of what had happened, expressing at the same time his regret that he was not possessed of a single horse, with which he could replace the one he had shot. What! replied the Indian whose horse had been killed, do you think I would accept a horse from you, though you had one to give, after you have satisfied me that you killed mine *by accident?* No, indeed! for the same misfortune might also happen to me.

An aged Indian who had gone out to shoot a turkey, mistook a black hog in the bushes for one of those birds, and shot him; finding out by enquiry to whom the hog belonged, he informed the owner of the mistake he had made, offering to pay for the hog; which the other, however, not only would not accept of, but having brought the meat in, gave him a leg of the animal, because he thought that the unfortunate man, as well on account of his disappointment, in not feasting on turkey as he expected soon to do when he shot the hog, as for his honesty in informing of what he had done, was *entitled* to a share of what he had killed.

Two Indians with a large canoe, going down the Muskingum river to a certain distance, were accosted by others going by land to the same place, who requested them to take their heavy articles, as kettles, axes, hoes, &c. into their canoe, which they freely did, but unfortunately were shipwrecked at the rocks of White Eyes's falls (as the place is called,) where the whole cargo was lost, and the men saved themselves by swimming to the

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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such things in nature as virtue on the one hand and crime on the other.

But nothing is so false as this picture of the Indians. The worst that can be said of them is, that the passion of revenge is so strong in their minds that it carries them beyond all bounds. But set this aside, and their character is noble and great. They have no written laws, but they have usages founded on the most strict principles of equity and justice. Murder with them is punished with death. It is true, that as was the case not many centuries ago among the most civilised nations of Europe, the death of a man may be compounded for with his surviving relations; if, however, they do not choose to accept of the terms offered, any one of them may become the executioner of the murderer.

Thieves are compelled to restore what they have stolen, or to make satisfactory amends to the injured party; in their default, their nearest relations are obliged to make up the loss. If the thief, after sufficient warning, continues his bad practices, he is disowned by his nation, and any one may put him to death the next time that he is caught in the act of stealing, or that it can be clearly proved to have been committed by him. I have given two instances of the kind in a former chapter,* and I recollect another which will put what I have said in the strongest light. I once knew an Indian chief, who had a son of a vicious disposition, addicted to stealing, and who would take no advice. His father tired and unable to satisfy all the demands which were made upon him for the restitution of articles stolen by his son, at last issued his orders for shooting him the next time he should be guilty of a similar act.

As to crimes and offences of an inferior nature to murder and theft, they are left to the injured party to punish in such manner as he thinks proper. Such are personal insults and threats, which, among those people are not

* Ch. 7. p. 97.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Nantikoke NM11

D 1765 morning to the grave and weeps over it. This is repeated daily for some time but gradually less and less till the mourning period is over. Sometimes they place victuals on the grave that the deceased may not suffer hunger. The food thus left is generally consumed by dogs.

N 1764 The Nantikoks [Nantikokes] of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned.

D 626 181 The Indians are a free people, knowing neither law nor restraint. They may not be prevailed on in any matter that does not please them, much less forced. If they cannot be persuaded with gentle words, further effort is in vain.

D 361 Each of them may settle where he pleases. Not satisfied with one place, an Indian may move to a town with which he is better pleased and no one offers any objection; or he may retire to a solitary place. Rarely will a family move far away from all society, though they frequently live apart from the towns to avoid being annoyed by drunkards; or they live thus alone in order to carry on the profitable traffic in rum more to their advantage. Many engage in rum traffic, especially women, D 439 who fetch it from the white people and sell at a considerable profit to the Indians, often taking from the latter everything they have, sometimes even their rifles on which they depend for subsistence. Chiefs and counsellors have often considered what might be done to stop this ruinous trade, and have often determined that no one should ever bring spirituous liquors into their towns again; for a time such a resolution would be kept, and then be broken, perhaps by the very ones who had counselled the prohibition. Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. Murder committed in D 622 drunkenness is not severely punished. Hence, it is that one 672 harboring hatred for another will, on the occasion of a drinking

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

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orgy, put him out of the way, pretending to be very drunk and not capable of judging of the nature of his deed. Under such circumstances, according to ancient usage, the murderer must pay a hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. If he is too poor to raise the amount, which is commonly the case, his friends help to raise it and turn it over to the relatives of the slain, at the same time delivering a speech. If any one has murdered his own relative, he usually escapes without difficulty, for the family can easily find reason for the deed, not wishing to lose two of their friends at once. Should a murderer not feel himself safe, he goes to another region or town where he is a stranger.

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In case of theft, which is held as a disgrace among them, nothing further is required than that the thief must restore what he has stolen, pay for it or give something in exchange. If justice cannot be satisfied in one of these ways, because the thief has nothing, loss falls on the party robbed, or the friends of the thief, if such he has, must make good the loss.

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When a whole party goes out to hunt, they govern themselves according to the wishes of the oldest or the most expert, particularly if he be a member of the council. It is not considered good form for one to leave the party before the end of the hunt. If one has wounded a deer and another followed and killed it, the skin belongs to the first and either the half or the whole of the meat to the latter. If several take aim at once and they cannot determine which of them made the best shot, the skin is given to the oldest of the party, or, if he happened to be one of those taking aim, he is said to have killed the animal. Old men, therefore, no longer able to shoot well, generally get their share of the skins, if they only aim now and then with the others though they do not hit the mark.

Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
	+ = element present									683	444	633	444
	— = element denied									444	444	444	444
	(+) or (—) = source ambiguous									685	444	444	444
	* = informant could not or would not say									444	444	444	444
	§ = some, sometimes, or several									444	444	444	444
	† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information									444	444	444	444
	Chiefs—Continued												
237.	War chief chosen through vision power				+	+			+	+	+	+	+
238.	Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
239.	Name *apwsenowuk							+		(+)	+	+	+
240.	Chosen by people						+	+		+	+	+	+
241.	Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242.	Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		§?		§	§	+	+	+	§	§	§	§
243.	All adults except women admitted				§				+	§	§	§	§
	Justice												
244.	Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
245.	Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		§		+		+	+
246.	Creditor uses force							§	+	*+		+	+
247.	Redress for civil injuries (theft)	*+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	+
248.	Injured party applies to chief		+		—	—	+	+	—	+		+	+
249.	Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
250.	Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		—			+			+	+		+	+
251.	Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252.	By nation	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	+	+	+	—	+
253.	Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
254.	Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255.	Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	*+	—	•	*+
256.	Revenge duty of any individual		*+			—	—	—	—	+	+	+	+
257.	Any one interfere from duty		*+				+	+	+	—	—	—	—
258.¹	Guilty submits	+	*—							+	+	+	+
259.	Feud arise from revenge		*+							—	—	—	—
260.	Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261.	Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
262.	Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263.	Adultery	+	+		+				+	+	(+)	•	
264.	Desertion of children								+	+	(+)		
265.	Drunkenness and slander	+											

266.	Any of these punished	+	−		−	+		−	+	+	(−)	+	+	
267.	Age of youth becoming a man								20	25	25	21	20-24	
268.	Determined by own ability		+				+		−	−	−	−	−	
269.	Murder of wife by husband punished						−	−	−	+	?	S	+	
270.	Her relatives might revenge if they considered act unwarranted						+			−		+	+	
	Family Government													
271.	Husband treats wife with tenderness and respect				+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
272.	Provides meat	+	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	
273.	Provides clothing					+	+			+	+	+	+	
274.	Provides other necessities					+	+			+	+	+	+	
275.	Wife obeys husband					+	+				+	+	+	
276.	Makes clothing	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
277.	Makes and mends moccasins	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
278.	Raises corn and other crops	+	+		+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+	
279.	Cooks	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
280.	Provides fuel		+		+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+	
281.	Manual labor falls on wife		+		+	S	+		+	−	−	−	+	
282.	Moving camp devolves upon women					+	−		−	−	−	−	−	
283.	Husband frequently strikes wife					−	−		−	−	−	−		
284.	If she is ill-tempered or refractory						+		+	−	−	−		
285.	Same affection and unreserved intercourse between spouses as in civilized life				+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
286.	Woman ever exercise government over children				+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
287.	Woman ever at the head of the establishment				+		+			+	+	+	+	
	Food, mode of living, etc.													
288.	Animals which are not used for food: several kinds					+	+			+	·		+	
289.	Very few	(+)		(+)					+		·	+		
290.	Opossum								+	+	+	•	+	
291.	Otter								+					
292.	Vegetable products eaten: All kinds								+		+	·	+	
293.	Number of kinds					+	+			+				
294.	Wild or ground potatoes				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
295.	Corn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
296.	Beans	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
297.	Pumpkins (squash)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first 686
period, we cannot tell whether their treatment was the same as Zeisberger recorded in the second period or not (244). Zeisberger said that if a debtor was unable to pay, the creditor dunned his friends who had to pay and rarely refused to do so. He thus implied that if a debtor was able to pay he was forced to do so. In the third and fourth periods the consensus was that there was no mode of compelling the payment of a debt, but that relatives or friends usually made restitution (245). Force might be used to get restitution, or, failing that, as a punishment (246). On this last element W. L. was the only dissenter. He said that force was never used because it was unnecessary, that anything borrowed was a gift and did not have to be returned unless a promise to do so was made by the borrower, and that a promise of this sort was always kept.

In spite of W. T.'s view of conditions among the Indians and 686
particularly the Delaware before much contact with the whites 177
had occurred, all of the first and second period accounts give evidence of a native mode of dealing with theft (247). It should be stated, however, that examples were said to be much more infrequent than among contemporaneous Europeans. No punishment except restitution was reported for the first offense (249). In default of restitution, J. W. said that a whipping was ordered 685
by the chief in cases of debt and theft and also as a punishment [684]
for rape. W. L. said that if wampum presents were not forthcoming from a detected thief, the chief ordered him to a whipping log where twenty-five strokes were administered for the first offense, fifty for the second, and other increases up to one hundred. Execution was not sanctioned as a punishment in default of presents, but in each of the last three periods the victim of a theft was said to have the right of killing such a defaulting thief on a subsequent offense, if caught in the act (250). This was denied by Van der Donck in the first period.

All the sources and informants were agreed that murder was 682
punished (251). Williams and Lindeström in the first period and J. W. and W. L. in the fourth were the only ones to report that the nation took any part in administering the punishment (252). However, according to Van der Donck, the chief or friends at-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

682 tempted to reconcile the parties involved and often gave liberally of their own means if those of the offender were deficient in order to settle the difficulty. Most breaches caused by murder were closed by presents (253). The reports of the amount of wampum, the usual compensation, varied; Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms for a man, double for a woman; Johnston and Chipps said two hundred fathoms; and Pipe reported one hundred and twenty fathoms for a man, one hundred and thirty for a woman (254). In the fourth period the discrepancies between the accounts show the effects of the lapse of time since this mode of appeasing bereaved relatives was used. J. W. said twelve yards of wampum was required, W. L. said fifty yards for a man and double for a woman, and W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary; whereas, E. R. did not think that a murder could ever be compensated for in this way and disclaimed all knowledge of wampum as a medium of exchange. E. R. said that blood vengeance was the only means of punishing a murderer.

682 627 Revenge, according to the rest of the accounts except Zeisberger and Johnston, was only resorted to in case presents were not offered or offered in insufficient amounts. Johnston said that no amount of wampum was sufficient to settle a second offense. Zeisberger did not explicitly refer to revenge but, in saying that a murderer who did not feel safe went to another village where he was a stranger, he implied that revenge was not unknown.

Revenge was the duty of the nearest relative of the slain person, according to Van der Donck, but no subsequent writer ascribed the responsibility to any particular person (256). In the later periods any of the relatives who were brave enough might undertake to obtain revenge but there was said to be no duty connected with it. In the fourth period, J. W. and W. L. said that relatives were not supposed to take revenge but that the chief appointed two or three men to do so. This element shows two changes from the first to the last period. In view of the established custom of giving presents to maintain peace disturbed by a murder it is probable that revenge was seldom taken within the nation. However, revenge as a method of

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

settling such an affair was approved by the nation (260), and it did not give rise to a feud between the two families involved unless there was some violation of the established customs by the injured family as reported by Van der Donck (259). 682 627

Besides murder and theft, rape, adultery, desertion of children, drunkenness, and slander were considered crimes (262-65). Apparently the conception of what constituted punishment varied among the sources, for some did not regard the payment of wampum as such (266). This was the only retribution levied on the offender recorded by Van der Donck, Heckewelder, Chipps, and Pipe. Zeisberger agreed, except that in the case of adultery he said a man whose wife had been seduced awaited his opportunity and seduced the wife of the seducer. J. W. and W. L. said that failing presents, whipping and even death might be meted out in cases of persistent offenders. J. W. seemed to think that rape was always punished by death. 684 672 683 [684]

Another element that shows an increasingly rigorous enforcement of law and order with the passage of time is that involving the murder of a woman by her husband (269). In the first two periods this received no mention, but in the third there are statements by Johnston and Pipe that the husband would not be punished (270). Johnston said that the wife's relatives might take revenge if they considered the act unwarranted. According to the modern informants, such a murderer would be punished anyway, and there might be revenge in addition if her relatives thought the deed unwarranted. 682

References to the age at which adult status was reached were infrequently given by the earlier sources (267). Van der Donck and Johnston said that the matter was determined by the ability of the individual (268). Chipps said that a youth was considered a man at twenty years and was then his own master even though he could marry before that. None of the modern informants said that coming into adult status was determined by the ability of the individual, although W. L. implied as much by saying that the age was between twenty and twenty-four years. Two of the others placed the age at twenty-five years and the fourth at twenty-one. In a society that placed so much emphasis upon 885

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

Justice

246. Use of force by creditor

J. W. said that a creditor or victim of a theft did not use force himself to get restitution but applied to the chief. Failing restitution, the chief appointed a man to punish the offender by whipping. On a second or third offense, the chief appointed two men who tied offender to a tree and whipped him with twelve sticks, using one at a time until all were broken. Whipped him to death, was J. W.'s way of putting it. This he was quite sure was the punishment formerly used. Rape was also punished in the same way. 685 686

247. Redress of civil injuries

Roger Williams said force was used for restitution in case of theft involving different tribes. 681

254. Amount of wampum paid by murderer

Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms of wampum for the murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. A person who murdered a relative usually went free. 681 682

John Johnston reported that two hundred fathoms was the amount necessary to close the breach on the first offense, no amount being satisfactory for later offenses of this nature.

Captain Pipe—If a murder is committed the friends and relatives of the murderer collect by their own means and the contributions of others a quantity of wampum, which they deposit with the Chief of their own tribe from time to time until the stock amounts to an hundred and twenty fathoms if the murdered person be a man or an hundred and thirty fathoms if a woman. When this is effected the Chiefs call a council at which the nation, or as many as are so inclined, with the friends of the deceased and the murderer assemble. Here, after a few remarks by way of consolation to the afflicted relatives the acceptance of the wampum is proposed to them, and if they refuse eight fathoms are added to it and the presentation is repeated. If they persist in their refusal eight fathoms more are added and should they still reject the offer the connexions of the murderer [696]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

681 pronounce themselves ready to meet the opposite party in any
682 way they may propose to avenge themselves. The fear of the anger of the nation always induces them at last to accept the wampum and compromise the matter. Great difficulties sometimes occur in procuring the quantity of wampum required by law. Seven or eight years have been thus employed. In such cases twelve fathoms are presented immediately after the commission of the offense, as an earnest of the desire of the aggressors to settle the difference in an amicable manner. The acceptance of this first offering is a pledge on the part of the injured relatives to receive the balance. No other presents accompany the wampum, as is the case among the northern Indians.

The guilty person if he be a worthless man, not respected by his own relatives or by the nation will generally effect his escape if possible, for he cannot hope for assistance in obtaining the quantity of wampum necessary. If he be poor but reputable he will probably "deliver his body" as they say, to the relatives of the murdered, and his life being in their hands they have an opportunity to show their generosity which they frequently seize upon.

Offenses of this nature are very often settled by a much smaller quantity of wampum than that mentioned, but as the law requires the one hundred and twenty or thirty fathoms a refusal to accept less does not meet the displeasure of the nation as would be the case if the legal quantity were rejected.

The murder of an individual belonging to a different tribe in the nation of the murder, is considered as a more heinous crime than if the parties were of the same parent stock, and is treated accordingly.

Captain Chipps—The punishment of death, however, is not sanctioned. The ordinary method of settling a difficulty, is by giving presents of wampum to the person injured—this is by judgment of the Council.

If one kills another, a council is called. The chiefs order the murderer to give to the relatives of the deceased, 200 fathoms of wampum—if he cannot do it, the relatives have the right to kill him, in any manner they please. If the relations do not take up the quarrel, the chiefs do nothing about it.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681
W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary.
W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman. 682

256 to 259. Revenge of murder

VAN-DER DONCK—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them. 627 682

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. Desertion of children

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

HUNTING

318. Ceremonies

LINDESTRÖM—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of ½, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one 224 622

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7
Miami NP9

I D M 423 574 648 563 [682]

when the Delaware tried to exact "blood money" from the Miami to "cover the bones" of several of their people who had been murdered by the Miami, they were reminded firmly that they had been allowed to keep the money for the sales of Miami lands and that this should suffice. Joseph Richardville speaking for the Miami stated:

> Grand Fathers: You must recollect when you passed over the great mountains, & came to our country, that you were poor and destitute; you placed yourselves under our protection; we gave you lands, & at the Treaty of St. Mary's you sat in council with us. These we considered enough to satisfy you for all the injury our bad young men had done you; but it appears otherwise, for you continue to beg for more notwithstanding all that has been told to you by our old chief who now lies sick in his wigwam. [Tipton, 1942, p. 764.]

When it was politic, the Iroquois assumed responsibility for their "dependents" to the point of pressing their claims. Thus Canassatego speaking to Representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster on July 2, 1744, pressed the case of the Canoy who had been defrauded by the Whites (Lowrie and Clarke, 1832–34, vol. 1, pp. 724–725).

On July 1, 1749, the Iroquois Assuchquay spoke for the Canoy as follows:

I [694]

> As we were coming here the Canoy Indians gave us this string of Wampum, thereby putting their case into our Hands, which we undertook to Speak to. It seems when the Proprietories bought the Land between Delaware and Susquehanna from us, the Tract, as they told us, on which the Canoy Town stood was reserv'd out of the Grant on account of those Indians living there, & when they should quit it they were to have a Consideration paid them for it. This we think they are entitled to, as they have left the Land & Live among other Nations at Juniata; and as they tell us that they never receiv'd anything for their Land, we recommend it to you to see them paid. [Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 390.]

And when it suited their purposes, dependents were allowed to share the presents. There is on record an actual agreement between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania dated January 1, 1789, which contains a clause noting that, "Two Munseys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners" (Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 512).

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In the foregoing, we have described how the League functioned for its tenants, dependents, guests, and colonists. When the League began to sell the land from under dependent peoples, friction developed which was not to be resolved by the dictates of Onondaga. The attempt of the League authorities to prevent the Iroquois on the Ohio from receiving "presents from the Governor of Virginia" by labeling them "Hunters and no Counselors or Chief Men" (ibid., p. 478) convinced neither the Governor of Virginia nor the Indian frontiersmen of the League's power to enforce its decision. Likewise the state-